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Whatever may be its defects, however, the merits of the work are great and incontestable. It takes rank at once as the most learned and the ablest of all the narratives of our earlier history. In its firm grasp and unflinching application of the true principles of historic criticism, in the clearness with which it defines the true nature of our national development, it has laid down a groundwork for after historians such as we have never had before."

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4. — *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church.* By HENRY C. LEA. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. 601.

IN all ages and among all nations religious enthusiasm seems to have found its most natural expression in some form of asceticism. The Jews, notwithstanding their strong desire for numerous offspring, attached peculiar sanctity to vows of continence; and the fierce intensity of the conflict between their animal passions and their ascetic zeal is evident from the fact that it was sometimes deemed necessary to resort to self-mutilation in order to conquer the fiery Israelitish blood. The Laws of Manu prescribe the severest austerities for the mortification of the flesh; but, with the practical common-sense so characteristic of the Aryan race, even in the midst of the wildest extravagances, such practices are forbidden until all the duties which man owes to society, and which are essential to the preservation of the species, have first been performed. The same code that promises the supreme good of absorption in Brahma as the reward of solitude and maceration, declares that the Brahmin who, "without having begotten sons, selfishly strives for beatitude, is destined to hell." Six centuries before the Christian era, Gotama Buddha founded a religion in which the strictest celibacy is imposed upon the priesthood, and many of its regulations bear a strong resemblance to the sacerdotal discipline of Latin Christianity. Like abstinence was inculcated by Pythagoras, and distinct traces of it are found in all the religious observances of antiquity.

Such being the almost universal tendency of pietistic fervor, it is not strange that, although Jesus himself was the least ascetic of men, his ardent followers early introduced into the Christian Church austere practices wholly foreign to his humane and liberal teachings. Fanciful interpretations were given to the plainest precepts, in order to prove the incompatibility of marriage with the functions of the Christian ministry. Even the fact that Paul's model bishop is described as "*filios habentem*," instead of "*facientem*," was perverted by dialectic subtlety into a plea for sacerdotal celibacy. The persistent efforts to impose

this severe discipline, and the firm and often heroic resistance to it by the lower clergy, form one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in ecclesiastical history. In the treatment of this subject Mr. Lea shows the same patient research, thorough scholarship, and critical acumen which distinguish his admirable work on "Superstition and Force," noticed in a recent number of this Review. His book is the only one of its kind in English literature, and differs from all those which have issued from the Continental press in the very important respect that it is not the production of a partisan, but of a truth-seeking historian. The author never wastes his ingenuity in attempts to sustain foregone conclusions, but writes with a freedom from polemical bias extremely rare in the discussion of topics which have so long borne a controversial character.

The scanty records of the Church during the first three centuries furnish no evidence of the adoption of celibacy as a compulsory rule for its ministers. On the contrary, all contemporary documents prove that the marital intercourse of ecclesiastics remained as free and unrestricted as that of the laity. That self-inflicted suffering, and the renunciation of all temporal pleasures, could propitiate a beneficent God, was, to the majority of the Christians of those days, the most absurd of paradoxes. Yet even during this period the spirit of asceticism began to work in individuals. The relative merit of marriage and abstinence became the theme of warm discussion, and there were not wanting zealous schismatics who made a fictitious purity the crucial test of piety. This spirit first manifested itself in the views entertained with regard to second marriages. By many orthodox such unions were looked upon as adulterous, although the Church refused to accept this opinion, and even branded it as heresy when the Montanists and Cathari sought to make it a point of faith. Not even Tertullian's reputation for sanctity could save him from excommunication when he embraced the obnoxious dogma. Yet, in spite of apostolic constitutions and canons, the ascetic tendency prevailed more and more in the discipline of the priesthood; and it soon became irrevocably fixed, that no *digamus*, or husband of a second wife, could be admitted to holy orders, and that marriage after taking orders, though permitted to a bachelor, was strictly prohibited to a widower. When this principle was once fairly established, the next step was the revival of the old Levitical rule which enjoined on the priesthood to marry none but virgins, thus deepening the line of separation already drawn between the clergy and the laity. Such was the condition of sacerdotal discipline towards the close of the third century, as defined in the two oldest ecclesiastical codes, — the *Canones Apostolorum* and the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, commonly, though falsely, attributed to St. Clement of Rome.

Meanwhile public opinion had moved faster on the fatal declivity of asceticism than the authorities in the Church. Celibates increased in numbers and in repute. The story of Origen shows how intense had become the conviction that nature must be repressed at all hazards; and, what was still worse, his example was followed by a sect called Valesians, who proselyted by force all those who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. About this time Manicheism arose, and gave a fresh stimulus to the prevailing tendency, by teaching that man's body is the work of the Demon, and that the soul, being of Divine essence, is eternally at war with it. In Cyprian's tables of sanctity, martyrdom is quoted at par, virginity stands at sixty. In the fifth century, after the Church had become supreme, and martyrdom was no longer in the market, St. Patrick rates bishops, doctors, monks, and virgins at one hundred; ecclesiastics and professed widows (*viduæ qui continententes sunt*) at sixty; while the faithful Trinitarian laity (*laici qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt*) stand only at thirty. These curious tabular statements show how perverted the Christian sense had become, which made egoistic anxiety for individual salvation a higher virtue than the self-denial of father and mother for their children, or the generous devotion of the citizen to the welfare of society and the state.

Thus far, however, the progress of asceticism had been due to moral influence alone. Its advocates had not yet attained the numerical ascendancy requisite to enable them to impose upon their brethren the rules of conduct which they had adopted for their own guidance. At the First General Council, which assembled at Nicæa in the year 325, an attempt was made to introduce a canon interdicting marriage to the clergy; but Paphnutius, an Egyptian monk, whose sightless eyes witnessed to the severity of the persecutions which he had suffered, and whose immaculate chastity put beyond question the purity of his motives, restrained his episcopal colleagues on the perilous verge, and the project was abandoned. In this connection, Mr. Lea discusses with acuteness the third Nicene canon, to which sacerdotal controversialists have constantly appealed in support of enforced celibacy, and shows conclusively that it was simply intended to put an end to the deplorable scandals arising from the dissoluteness of unmarried priests. But the influence of Paphnutius did not change, but only delayed, the result. Sixty years later the law of ecclesiastical celibacy was decreed by Siricius, and made obligatory on the whole Western Church. For the details of this legislation, the resistance which it encountered, and its effects on sacerdotal morality, we must refer the reader to Sections IV. and V. of our author's excellent sketch. The Eastern Church, not-

withstanding the enthusiasm of Jerome and the eloquence of St. John Chrysostom, who lent the sanction of his great name to the principle of virginity, refused to be bound by the decretals of Siricius. On this point the Greek communion of the nineteenth century is governed by the constitution of Justinian. "Marriage in orders is not permitted, nor are *digami* admissible, but the lower grades of the clergy are free to marry, nor are they separated from their wives when promoted to the sacred functions of the diaconate, or priesthood. The bishops are selected from the regular clergy, or monks, and, being bound by the vow of chastity, are of course unmarried and unable to marry." The canons of the famous Council held at Constantinople in 680, and known to polemics as the *Quinisext in Trullo*, are still the ecclesiastical law of the East.

Meanwhile the irruption of the Barbarians was rapidly changing the face of Christendom. The wild converts of the German forests, as they settled down in their conquests, soon perceived that the high places of the Church were the only real seats of honor, wealth, and power. Thus the hierarchy became filled with a class of bishops more eminent for their warlike prowess than for the austerity of their virtue. And it is not surprising that vows of continence, assumed from motives of worldly ambition, were seldom rigidly observed by these lusty and turbulent prelates. Gregory the Great exerted all his energy and authority to reform these abuses and enforce the canons, but in vain. In France and Spain and Italy the unbridled license of the clergy not only demoralized society, but also threatened the utter dilapidation of the ecclesiastical estates and foundations. In the eyes of a sagacious statesman like Gregory, the latter consideration was of greater importance than the former. He prized celibacy as a means of preventing the alienation and embezzlement of church property, rather than from motives of sacerdotal purity. Indeed, during the tenth century, after the Carlovingian power had virtually disappeared and centralization in temporal affairs had given place to feudalism, had marriage been permitted to the clergy, episcopal sees and benefices would have infallibly followed the law of secular possessions and become hereditary. It was for this reason that matrimony in an ecclesiastic was deemed more objectionable than concubinage or indiscriminate licentiousness. The latter only corrupted the priest and his parishioners; the former endangered the unity and collective power of the Church. And whatever may be said of the evils of the system, we must regard the triumph of sacerdotalism at this period as a triumph for mediæval and modern civilization. Again and again, during this long and severe struggle, human nature, by excesses of profligacy, asserted her impre-

scriptible rights against the canons and decretals of Latin Christianity. The ascetic discipline was by no means favorable to personal morality ; but it strengthened central authority in an unsettled age, checked the violence of barbaric nobles, supplied a refuge for learning, and furnished a necessary counterpoise to the disintegrating influences of feudalism.

The clear and sagacious mind of Hildebrand comprehended the value of celibacy to the Church ; and, while fervid monks like Peter Damiani labored for the reform as a matter of conscience, with no thought of the worldly advantages to be derived from ascetic purity, Hildebrand regarded it chiefly as an engine of tremendous power in carrying out his grand scheme of a theocratic empire. The priest was to be a man segregated from his fellows, not for the sake of promoting his personal holiness, but in order that he might have no interests apart from those of the great corporation to which he belonged. With what indomitable energy and relentless cruelty the stern pontiff accomplished his purpose against a recalcitrant clergy, the reader will find faithfully narrated in Sections XIV., XV., and XVI. of Mr. Lea's volume. To the horror of those strict Churchmen who looked upon immunity from temporal jurisdiction as one of the most precious of ecclesiastical privileges, Hildebrand invoked secular interference in coercing the married and concubinary priests. In the Teutonic Church his efforts were crowned with success, in spite of the opposition of Henry IV. ; but in France, not even with the aid of the state, was it found possible to eradicate a custom so firmly rooted in tradition. Not until Hildebrand had been thirty-four years in his grave did Calixtus II., at the Council of Rheims, partially succeed in breaking the contumacy of the Gallican priesthood. The effect of this reformation on the standard of morals in the Church is well illustrated by the story of Abelard and Heloise. So long as their union remained unsanctified by marriage, the gratification of his passion and the recognition of Astrolabius as his illegitimate child would be no bar to ecclesiastical preferment. As a Churchman, it was better for him to be a libertine than a virtuous husband. Heloise knew this, and, with marvellous love and self-abnegation, refused to be an impediment to his promotion by acknowledging herself his wife, but persisted in styling herself his "harlot," although the marriage was valid by every law, since Abelard, though professing theology, was not a priest. That such was the moral result of seven centuries of assiduous sacerdotalism is officially corroborated by a decision of Innocent III., who, in 1213, declared that, no matter how many concubines a man might have, either at one time or in succession, he did not incur the irregularity of digamy and was, therefore, not ineligible to the priesthood.

In the frontier provinces of Christendom, the enforcement of celibatic discipline was attended with still greater difficulty. Especially was this true of England, which, under Saxon rule, had been too isolated to be much affected by Continental controversies. Notwithstanding the efforts of St. Dunstan, aided by King Edgar, who sought to obtain absolution for his own vices by imposing a vicarious chastity on the clergy, there is abundant evidence that, at the time of Edward the Confessor, the rule of celibacy, though often promulgated, was utterly disregarded in the British Church. With the Norman Conquest, England became an integral part of the commonwealth of Christendom, and was thus brought more directly under the supremacy of the Holy See. The consequence was an increased stringency in legislation touching sacerdotal irregularities. St. Anselm of Canterbury was particularly zealous in the matter. The struggle was long and obdurate, and is duly chronicled by contemporary poetasters, whose rhyming Latin verses faithfully reflect the public sentiment of the age on this subject. It was not until the close of the thirteenth century that the Anglican clergy sullenly acquiesced in the reform; and there is reason to believe that, in the fastnesses of Wales, sacerdotal marriage continued to be practised, in spite of codes and councils, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century rendered such nuptials again legitimate. Among the ardent children of the South, the revenge of Nature for the attempted violation of her immutable laws resulted in fearful immorality. Such was the condition of clerical virtue in Spain and the Swiss Cantons, that it was the custom to oblige a new pastor, on entering on his sacred functions, to choose a concubine as a safeguard for the families of his parishioners. The powerful theocracy of Gregory VII., which in the tenth and eleventh centuries was the only avenger of wrong and promoter of culture, became, in the fifteenth century, an unmitigated instrument of oppression and a shield to unimaginable corruption. It is a significant fact, that the proceedings of the Œcumenic Council of Constance, under the rubric *De Vita et Honestate Clericorum*, contain no allusion to concubinage, simony, drunkenness, and other prevalent vices, but severely denounce the unclerical cut of episcopal sleeves, and discuss with great fervor many other vital points of holy haberdashery. No better evidence than this solemn trifling in the midst of important crises is needed to prove that the Roman hierarchy had virtually abdicated the leadership of the age. Its past services were being rapidly forgotten in view of its present corruption.

It is remarkable that Wickliffe and Huss and Savonarola, with all their boldness in denouncing and uprooting abuses, clung reverently

to celibacy, the vile root of all the evils which they sought to extirpate. Luther showed far deeper insight; and, notwithstanding the sarcasm of Erasmus, who declared that the Reformation had turned out a comedy since it resulted in a marriage, the union of the monk of Wittenberg with the nun of Nimptschen was a decisive and well-directed blow at the radical vice of the whole ecclesiastical system. Thus, in the negotiations which took place at Augsburg and Ratisbon, in order to effect an accommodation and prevent an incurable schism in the Church, the German Reformers, though ready to make many sacrifices for peace, tenaciously insisted on the right of marriage for the clergy; and when Charles issued a decree commanding all priests to abstain from their wives on penalty of ejection, he suddenly found himself confronted by the formidable league of Schmalcalden. Indeed, the Papal Legate Campeggi acknowledged that the heretical movement had no little excuse in the general laxity of clerical morals. But instead of removing the scandal by abolishing the rule of celibacy, he endeavored to inaugurate a reform under it, although centuries of experience had demonstrated the futility of such a scheme. In 1528, the Cardinal-Legate Duprat, alarmed by the rapid spread of Lutheranism, convened a council at Paris, where the new doctrines were branded as heresies, and sacerdotal purity elevated to the dignity of an article of faith. This extreme position was assumed by a series of provincial councils; and on the 11th of November, 1563, was indorsed and emphasized by the great Council of Trent, although strong ground was taken against it by the Emperor Ferdinand, by Duke Albert of Bavaria, and by men eminent for learning and piety, like Wicelius and Cassander, and in spite of the conviction already expressed by Erasmus, and now forcing itself on all reflecting minds, that the removal of the prohibition of marriage was the only mode of securing a virtuous clergy. It does not seem to have suggested itself to the authors of the Tridentine canons, that, by anathematizing all those who assert the validity of clerical marriages, they put under the ban of heresy the whole body of the Church previous to the first Lateran Council. Instead of adopting such wise measures as were demanded by the progress and enlightenment of an age in which the old landmarks of thought had been broken down, the venerable fathers sought security in intrenching more deeply behind the redoubts of mediævalism. The means which this last Œcumenic Council devised for enforcing obedience to its canons were not essentially different from those that had been tried and had failed, a hundred times, since the days of Siricius.

The history of the Post-Tridentine Church only illustrates anew



the inseparableness of incontinence from sacerdotalism, and fully confirms the truth so feelingly expressed by the mediæval poet, Walter Mapes :—

“*Res est arduissima vincere naturam,  
In aspectu virginum mentem ferre puram ;  
Juvenes non possumus legem sequi duram,  
Leviumque corporum non habere curam.*”

Had the object been merely to check immorality, celibacy would have been unhesitatingly abrogated at Trent. But it was justly feared that, “if priests were permitted to marry, their affections would be concentrated on family and country in place of the Church ; their subjection to the Holy See would be diminished, the whole system of the hierarchy destroyed, and the Pope himself would eventually become a simple Bishop of Rome.”

If, now, we turn our attention to the Anglican Church, we shall find that, whilst a wholesale system of confiscation initiated by Wolsey was sweeping away the rich and powerful monastic establishments, and reducing their inmates to beggary and vagabondage, sacerdotal celibacy was retained. Either from conscientious conviction or controversial pride, the royal Defender of the Faith persistently refused the privilege of marriage to the clergy, although urged to concede it by the most obvious considerations of policy and statesmanship. Nevertheless, public opinion in England, except when biassed by the king's known wishes, strongly favored the reform. A popular polemic even declares “keeping of virginity and chastity of religion” to be “a devellish thinge.” The chief advisers of Henry connived at infractions of the discipline which the king had issued a proclamation to enforce. The Abbot of Walden, “a man of good learning and right sincere judgment,” confessed to the visitors of the monasteries that, “for the avoiding of more inconvenience,” he had secretly contracted matrimony ; and when this case was referred to the Vicar-General, Cromwell simply counselled him to “use his remedy” discreetly, so as not to excite scandal. A petition presented to Cromwell by the priests of the diocese of Bangor forcibly illustrates the necessity of the good Abbot's “remedy.” After setting forth that without women they cannot keep house and exercise hospitality, but are driven to seek their living at alehouses and taverns, they add the humiliating confession : “And as for gentlemen and substantial honest men, for fear of inconvenience, knowing our frailty and accustomed liberty, they will in nowise board us in their houses.” But notwithstanding this array of pertinent and incontrovertible facts, Parliament, in June, 1539, adopted the iniquitous Six Articles, which surpassed in cruelty all previous legislation on this

subject. Priestly marriage or concubinage was made felony, and both the guilty parties were punished with death. In spite of Mr. Froude's attempt to relieve Henry from the odious responsibility of this atrocious measure by attributing it to Gardiner's influence, there is no doubt that the king took an extremely active part in framing the bill and in securing its passage. It was really the work, not of a deliberative assembly, but of a capricious, irritable, and self-opinionated monarch, who gloried in his polemic skill and had the power to carry on his controversies with the blood of his subjects. This Draconian law, moderated somewhat in its execution by the humane wisdom of Cromwell and Cranmer, remained in force during the subsequent eight years of Henry's reign. Under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the subject of sacerdotal matrimony passed through many legislative vicissitudes, until, with the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles in 1563, it was fully sanctioned by the organic law of the Church. Still the right, though eagerly accepted, was grudgingly bestowed. Elizabeth never overcame her repugnance to it; so strong was her aversion that the wives of prelates could not be received at court, and were thus practically ostracized from society; and it is to this prejudice of the virgin queen that is to be attributed "the last relic of clerical celibacy enforced among Protestants, — that of the Fellows of the English Universities."

We have thus presented some of the salient points of Mr. Lea's learned and valuable monograph. We regard its publication at this time of great crises in ecclesiastical affairs as most opportune. In England, the strange anachronism known as "Ritualism" is vainly endeavoring to infuse new life into an effete establishment by a return to mediæval sacerdotalism; whilst, on the other hand, the rise of political freedom in Italy is rapidly secularizing church property, suppressing monastic foundations, removing civil disabilities on clerical marriage, forcing the Papacy itself into harmony with the progress of the age, and demanding, in the language of Father Passaglia, that "the priest shall be restored to his country by restoring to him the chaste and tranquil affections of the family."

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5. — *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society.* Vol. I. *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679–80.* Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by the Society. 1867. 8vo. pp. viii., xlvii., 440. — [Second Title:] *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679–80, by JASPAR DANKERS and PETER SLUYTER of Wiewerd in Friesland.* Translated from the